

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PRAGUE 1107

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR SCUL CZ
SUBJECT: CUL/SCI EXCHANGES AGREEMENT

REF: PRAGUE 1106

FOR EUR-HARTMAN AND ARMITAGE: EUR/EE - AMBA BYRNE;
USIA - SHIRLEY AND ARNOLD; CU/EE -RICHMOND

1. IN OUR JUDGEMENT, WE HAVE COME TO AN IMPASSE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A U.S. - CZECHOSLOVAK CULTURAL-SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES AGREEMENT. WE BELIEVE FURTHER MEETINGS ALONG THE LINES OF RECENT ONES WILL HURT OUR CHANCES FOR AN EVENTUAL AGREEMENT AND THUS FOR AN EXPANSION OF EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THIS MESSAGE, THEREFORE, WE RECOMMEND A NEW TACK TO AVOID DIGGING OURSELVES IN ANY FURTHER.

2. AS INDICATED REFTTEL, CHARGE MADE ANOTHER STRONG TRY AT APRIL 22 SESSION TO CONVINCE CZECHOSLOVAKS WE SHOULD HAVE AN AGREEMENT WITH MACHINERY ALONG LINES DEPARTMENT HAS PRESCRIBED, THAT IS WITHOUT MUCH FORMAL MACHINERY AT ALL. CZECH CHAIRMAN ZEMLA, WHO IS AN ABLE AND EXPERIENCED NEGOTIATOR, SEEMED GENUINELY PERPLEXED THAT U.S. SIDE DID NOT OFFER ANY DETAILED COMMENTS ON GOC DRAFTS, AND DID NOT OFFER ANY FURTHER DRAFTS OF ITS OWN (AS HAD BEEN PROMISED - SEE PRAGUE 912), BUT MERELY REITERATED ITS OWN ORIGINAL POSITION.

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3. AS WE UNDERSTAND FROM REMARKS BY ZEMLA AND ZANTOVSKY

ON EARLIER OCCASIONS, AND BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER SPACIL AT LUNCH FOR NEW CSSR AMBASSADOR JOHANES APRIL 21 (SEPTTEL), THE CZECHS SAY THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT KIND OF AN AGREEMENT WE ARE TRYING TO NEGOTIATE, IF WE REFUSE TO AGREE TO ANY NORMAL IMPLEMENTATION MEASURES, AND THEY WONDER IF WE REALLY ARE INTERESTED IN HAVING AN AGREEMENT. IN A PRIVATE CONVERSATION AT THE NEGOTIATING SESSION APRIL 22, ZEMLA REITERATED THIS CONCERN ON THE GOC PART, AND SAID WE'RE BEGINNING TO WORRY SERIOUSLY AND TO LOOK FOR SOME WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT BLIND ALLEY. HE SUGGESTED, AND DID THIS ALSO "INFORMALLY" AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, THAT WE CONSIDER EITHER SENDING SOMEONE FROM WASHINGTON OR ELSE RECEIVING GOC REPRESENTATIONS IN WASHINGTON, TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY AND FIND OUT IF THERE IS A COMMON WILL TO AN AGREEMENT.

4. FOR OUR PART, WHILE WE HAVE FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS AND HAVE SOUGHT TO CONVINCE GOC REPS THAT IMPLEMENTATION FORMALITIES MUST REMAIN AT BARE MINIMUM, WE ARE BY NO MEANS CERTAIN WHAT USG HOPES TO ACHIEVE. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THIS IS PART OF THE REACTION AGAINST THE U.S. OVER-FORMALIZATION OF ITS "DETENTE" WITH THE USSR; BUT THAT REACTION SURELY DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ABANDON ALL COMMON INTERNATIONAL PRACTICES WITH REGARD TO IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS. (ANOTHER POSSIBILITY IS THAT, WITH AN EYE ON BUDAPEST AND SOFIA, THE DEPARTMENT IS SIMPLY PROLONGING OUR NEGOTIATIONS ON PURPOSE. IF THIS IS THE CASE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE OUR TACTICS ARE SOUND. IF IT IS NECESSARY TO POSTPONE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT ONCE A TEXT IS AGREED, THIS CAN BE EASILY DONE, WITH VARIOUS EXCUSES SUCH AS ELECTIONS AND THE LIKE.) WE AT THE EMBASSY ARE ESPECIALLY PUZZLED BECAUSE (ASIDE FROM THE ISSUE OF LEVEL, WHERE A DIFFERENCE DOES EXIST, ALTHOUGH IT IS RESOLVABLE BY GIVING THE RIGHT TO NAME LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION INDEPENDENTLY TO EACH SIDE) IN MOST CASES WHAT THE CZECHS WANT IN WRITING WOULD NOT DIFFER IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY FROM WHAT WE WANT IN PRACTICE.

5. AS WE IMPLIED IN OUR LAST REPORTING CABLE (REFTEL), WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD CONTINUE. AT ALL OUR SESSIONS SO FAR, THE DEPARTMENT HAS SENT INSTRUCTIONS NIACT SO AS TO BE RECEIVED HERE ON THE DAY OF OUR MEETING; AND OUR INSTRUCTIONS HAVE NOT TAKEN COGNIZANCE OF WHAT THE USDEL

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HAS PROPOSED OR PROMISED AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING. OUR ATTEMPT TO GET AWAY FROM THIS BY ASKING FOR NEW INSTRUCTIONS A WEEK AHEAD WAS REBUFFED. YET WE AGREE WITH ZEMLA THAT TO ADJOURN SINE DIE WOULD GIVE A BAD IMPRESSION.

6. IN THIS IMPASSE WE RECOMMEND EARNESTLY THAT A FRESH LOOK BE TAKEN AT A HIGH LEVEL AT THE COURSE OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS THUS FAR, AND SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS, INCLUDING DRAFT LANGUAGE, BE

AGREED UPON. SINCE OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT AMBASSADOR BYRNE WILL BECOME THE HEAD OF THE USDEL UPON HIS ARRIVAL, WE URGE THAT HE BE BRIEFED UPON THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT HIS VIEWS BE SOUGHT ABOUT BREAKING OUT OF THE PRESENT UNPROFITABLE PATH. IF THE USG IS ABSOLUTELY INSISTENT THAT WE WILL NOT NEGOTIATE OUR POSITION, BUT WILL MAKE THE GOC ACCEPT IT IF IT WANTS AN AGREEMENT, THEN IN OUR OPINION WE SHOULD SAY THAT, WITH THE MINIMUM DRAFT LANGUAGE THAT WE WILL ACCEPT. OUR HOPE IS THAT THIS WILL NOT BE THE CASE, SINCE WE SEE HEALTHY ELEMENTS IN THE GOC POSITION. IN ANY EVENT, SINCE ZEMLA MADE HIS SUGGESTION THAT A GOC REPRESENTATIVE (PROBABLY HIMSELF) GO TO THE U.S., OR SOMEONE FROM WASHINGTON COME HERE, WE STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT THE DEPARTMENT TAKE HIM UP ON THIS OFFER. IF IT IS DECIDED TO SEND THE U.S. POSITION HERE, THEN AMBASSADOR BYRNE COULD OF COURSE BRING IT HIMSELF. SINCE HIS ARRIVAL DATE IS STILL UNKNOWN, AND POSSIBLY A MONTH OFF, WE BELIEVE IT PREFERABLE FOR ZEMLA TO BE INVITED TO THE U.S. IF THIS WERE DONE, WE BELIEVE A COMPROMISE ACCORD INCORPORATING ALL MAJOR U.S. DESIDERATA COULD BE ACHIEVED IN RATHER SHORT TIME.

7. REQUEST FOR ACTION: (A) THAT THE DEPARTMENT CONSIDER ZEMLA'S SUGGESTION FOR THE VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND SEND US A REPLY TO GIVE HIM IN THE NEAR FUTURE. (B) DEPENDING ON THE ANSWER TO (A), THAT THE DEPARTMENT INSTRUCT US AS TO WHETHER WE SHOULD CONFIRM THE MAY 6 DATE FOR THE NEXT MEETING. PERRY

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